

PROCEEDINGS
1966 NATIONAL CONVENTION

June 10-12

New York City

SOCIALIST PARTY, U.S.A.

1182 Broadway

New York City, N. Y.

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PROCEEDINGS
1966 NATIONAL CONVENTION
SOCIALIST PARTY, U.S.A.

June 10, 11, 12, 1966

New York City

Friday, June 10, 1966

The Convention was opened at 2:00 P.M. by National Chairman
Darlington Hoopes with brief remarks. (Appendix)

Memorials

Tribute was paid and a moment of silence observed in memory of the comrades who had died during the last two years. Among those listed were: Paul Albright, Otto Johnson, Lyda and Sarah Conant, Newton Ingram, Edward Garber, and Fanny Ellstein of California; John P. Burke, Hildegard Liebers, Jack Melhado, Samuel Alt, Guiseppe Andolina, Alfonso Fiorentini, Mordecai Kohn, Charles Bond, and YPSL Addison Wilkes, of New York; William Lang, Walter Benson, Mrs. Peter Norgaard, Magdalena Plotz, Ernest Scholz, Clara Barrack, Mr. & Mrs. A. Badura, Michael Katzban, Anthony King, Frank Weber, and Emil Brodde of Wisconsin; Walter St. Clair and Emily Longstreth of Pennsylvania; Ivan Anderson and G.W. Wieneke of Illinois; Allan Barr, New Jersey; Gene Yeager, Colorado; Angelica Balabanoff, Italy; Opal Sargent, Idaho; Rev. Woolcott Cutler, Mass.; Alice Labouisse, Louisiana; Frederick A. Shannon, Jr., Arizona.

Greetings and announcements were given by New York City Chairman Sydney Bykofsky on behalf of the host organization, the New York Local.

The report of the Preliminary Credentials Committee (National Committee) was given by National Administrative Secretary Betty Elkin.

MOTION: To accept the report and to seat the delegates present. CARRIED

Chairman Hoopes reported on the agenda as recommended by the National Committee.

MOTION: to divide item 14 to read:
14. Nomination and election of National Chairman.
14A. Nominations for National Committee. CARRIED

MOTION: to adopt the agenda as amended. CARRIED

The Convention Rules as proposed by the National Committee were adopted. The Chairman ruled that absent delegates may be elected to committees if a comrade can vouch for their timely arrival.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS OF THE DAY:

Friday: Chairman: Darlington Hoopes
Vice Ch.: Julius Bernstein

Saturday: Chairman: Seymour Steinsapir
Vice Ch.: Tom Kahn

Sunday: Chairman: Julius Bernstein
Vice Ch.: Michael Hannon

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NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF CONVENTION COMMITTEES:

Credentials Committee:

Elected: Robert Allikas
Reuben Singer
Max Wohl

Domestic Platform Committee

Elected: Seymour Steinsapir
Irwin Suall
Michael Hannon
James Burnett
Seymour Kopilow

Foreign Platform Committee:

Elected: Alex Garber
Bernard Sapiro
Ephraim Friend
Joan Suall
John Lester Lewine
Samuel H. Friedman

The chair ruled that, in accordance with his ruling above, it was out of order to nominate an alternate who would be seated as soon as he arrived, because of the known absence of a delegate from his Local, and who would be available for the committee meetings.

MOTION: to suspend the ruling of the chair to allow the nomination of this alternate. **CARRIED**

The chair ruled that Comrade Saul Mendelson was ineligible for nomination to a committee, since he would not arrive in time for the committee meeting Friday night.

MOTION: To overrule the chair on the eligibility of Comrade Mendelson. **DEFEATED**

The business of the Convention was interrupted at this time to receive greetings from fraternal and friendly organizations. Stanley Dropkin presented greetings from the Workmen's Circle, Comrade A. Pomian from the Polish Socialist Party, and Comrade George Petkoff from the Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe. Among those sending greetings to the Convention were:

Socialist International
International Council of Social Democratic Women
International Union of Socialist Youth
British Labour Party
German Social Democratic Party
Italian Social Democratic Party
Danish Social Democratic Party
Austrian Social Democratic Party
Belgian Socialist Party
Finnish Social Democratic Party
Singapore People's Action Party
Japan Socialist Party
Japan Democratic Socialist Party
New Zealand Labour Party
Madagascar Social Democratic Party
Roumanian Social Democratic Party in Exile

SANE

Fellowship of Reconciliation
Democratic Socialist Federation of the U.S.A.

NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF CONVENTION COMMITTEES (continued)

MOTION: Since there is a three-way tie for the last two positions on the foreign platform committee, we suspend the rules and elect all six members to the committee.

MOTION: That we ask all six candidates to state briefly their positions on Vietnam.

CARRIED

After the candidates had expressed themselves as directed, the preceding motion to elect all six

CARRIED

Organization and Finance Committee

Elected: Don Anderson
Sandra Feldman
Leo Leopold
Earl Bourdon
Robert Allikas

Press and Education Committee

Elected: Paul Feldman
Reva Craine
George Woywod
Tom Kahn
Julius Bernstein

Constitution Committee

Elected: Syd Bykofsky
Beatrice Green

Youth Committee

Elected: Seymour Kopilow
Richard Congress
Penn Kemble
Abraham Bassford
Neil Strong
Max Wohl
Jan Horn
Carlie Anderson
James Burnett

Resolutions Committee

Elected: Amanda Roth
Saul Mendelson
Hank Mayer
Arthur Bernstein

MOTION: to elect an Organization and Finance Committee of 5 instead of 3.

CARRIED

MOTION: to suspend the rules and allow delegates serving on other committees to serve on the Youth and Resolutions Committees.

CARRIED

MOTION: to elect a 9-member Youth Committee.

CARRIED

MOTION: to elect a 4-member Resolutions Committee.

CARRIED

MOTION: to ask the Resolutions Committee to report as item 18A of the agenda.

CARRIED

Tellers Committee of Comrades Robert Allikas, Amanda Roth, Rudy Pakalns, and C.H. (Hank) Mayer was appointed by the chair.

MOTION: to suspend the agenda to hear from our National Honorary Chairman, Herman Thomas.

CARRIED

Comrade Thomas then addressed the convention delegates.

dinner recess was declared, and the convention convened again at 7:30 P.M. Friday night.

The Friday evening discussion continued, with the following speakers:
John Lester Lewine
Carl Dahlgren
Rick Congress (cont'd)
Jim Burnett
Beatrice Green
Penn Kemble
Ephraim Friend
Bob Koepfman
Syd Bykofsky

The Credentials Committee reported on two problems. (1) the elected delegate from Conn.-R.I. had not arrived but Comrade Jeanne Herrick, who tied for second, was present and asked to be seated. (2) Comrade Stanley Matoren, for the past three years a member of the Boulder Local which had not conducted an election for a Colorado delegate, brought with him an authorization from the Columbia, Missouri Local which had recently discovered that their delegates could not attend. Comrade Matoren had been a member of the Columbia Local before moving to Colorado. The Committee recommendation was that both comrades be seated with voice but no vote.

MOTION: that the committee recommendation be approved. CARRIED

A discussion on the state of the Party, limited to Party members, followed. Comrade Elkin gave a brief report on the membership and activities in the Party. Comrade Steinsapir reported, on behalf of the National Committee, on the state of activity within the Party. Local reports were given by Comrades George Papcun (Tucson), Michael Hannon (Los Angeles), James Burnett (Northern Calif.), Don Anderson (Indiana), Julius Bernstein (Boston), Beatrice Green (Nassau), Max Wohl (Cleveland), Carl Dahlgren (Philadelphia). Reports from New York City (Syd Bykofsky) and Suffolk, N.Y. (Hugh Cleland) were heard later in the discussion. Speakers on this subject were:

George Woywod, Ind.
Abraham Bassford, N.Y.
George Papcun, Ariz.
Archie Lieberman, N.J.
Ephraim Friend, N.Y.
Michael Hannon, Calif.
James Burnett, Calif.
Bob Allikas, Calif.
Tom Kahn, N.Y.

Paul Feldman, N.Y.
Don Anderson, Ind.
Jo Davidson, Pa.
Sam Friedman, N.Y.
Seymour Kopilow, N.Y.
Alex Garber, Calif.
Seymour Steinsapir, N.Y.
Max Shachtman, N.Y.
Michael Hannon, Calif.

MOTION: to continue this discussion Saturday morning.

AMENDMENT: to limit discussion Saturday to one hour.

CARRIED

The amended motion CARRIED

The Friday session adjourned at 10:45 P.M.

Saturday, June 11, 1966

The Credentials Committee recommended that Comrades Herbert and Toni Roth be recognized as a delegate and alternate respectively of the Central Indiana Local, of which they were founding members, even though they lacked four months of the 18 months continuous membership in the SP required by the Constitution.

MOTION: to accept the Committee recommendation.

CARRIED

The Friday evening discussion continued, with the following speakers:

Ephraim Friend
Bob Koeppicus
Syd Bykofsky

Jim Burnett
Beatrice Green
Penn Kemble

John Lester Lewine
Carl Dahlgren
Rick Congress (cont'd)

John Tyler
Alex Garber
Seymour Steinsapir
Julius Bernstein

C.H. Mayer
Robert Allikas
George Papcun
Hugh Cleland

The Credentials Committee reported on new delegates seated and recommended the seating of Comrade John Tyler of Chicago, who had been elected by that Local without their realizing that he had not been a member the required 18 months. The Chicago comrades agreed that this was an oversight that should not have occurred, but asked that he be seated since all Illinois delegates had not been able to attend the convention.

MOTION: to approve the committee recommendation. CARRIED

MOTION: to designate a committee of five to bring in recommendations for the future functioning of the Socialist Party, based on the previous discussions. CARRIED

Comrades Garber, Hannon, Anderson, J. Bernstein, Steinsapir and I. Sual were nominated.

MOTION: to make the committee a six-man committee and to declare the above comrades elected. CARRIED

REPORT OF THE CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE

The Constitution Committee recommended the following changes in the SP constitution:

ARTICLE IV Section 2

On lines 1 and 2 change the number of members which now reads "national chairman, 16 members" to read, "national Chairman, 12 members."

Section 3

Change the number of alternates to read, "ten alternates" instead of "twelve alternates."

Section 7

Change the quorum requirements to read "7 members or seated alternates" instead of "9 members or seated alternates."

MOTION: to approve the suggested change in Section 2. CARRIED

MOTION: to approve the suggested change in Section 3. CARRIED

MOTION: to approve the suggested change in Section 7. CARRIED

MOTION: to adopt the constitution as a whole, with the approved changes. CARRIED

FOREIGN PLATFORM COMMITTEE REPORT

Comrade Garber reported for the majority of the Committee the following amendment to bring the Vietnam section of the 1964 Platform up to date:

THE WAR IN VIETNAM

American military participation in the war in South Vietnam has had enormous effects both on U.S. foreign policy and developments in our own economic life. At this time there is no easy solution in South Vietnam. The country has become so polarized that a policy of neutralization would be most difficult to pursue. Yet the U.S. is spending lives and money in a cruel and unpopular war. Not only Americans but tens of thousands of Vietnamese are dying in this ghastly war. Nonetheless, some American voices are still urging that the war be further carried to Hanoi-Haiphong or to China itself. Such a policy would be all too likely to escalate into World War III, an outcome that would not "save" Southeast Asia or anything else, but would lay waste to the globe. We call upon the U.S. government, in view of this, to end bombing in North Vietnam. Consequently, the Socialist Party demands that the U.S. government take a definitive stand in favor of negotiations with the N.L.F. It will also be necessary for the nations of the world to bring pressure upon all the participants in that war to enter into negotiations and to secure a cease-fire. Instead of supporting the non-representative Ky government, the U.S. must take steps to guarantee the early holding of free, genuine, democratic elections so that the South Vietnamese people can establish a representative government, to determine their own destiny and hope that they will reject the twin evils of Communist totalitarianism and military authoritarianism. The Socialist Party also demands that the U.S. help initiate a program of social and economic reforms in South Vietnam including (a) land to the peasants, (b) subsidies for peasant land purchases, (c) elimination of the urban-rural gap and the de-facto discrimination against the peasant youth, and (d) establishing rights of ethnic minorities to cultural autonomy. The Socialist Party further demands that our government use every effort by negotiation, to maintain a genuine neutralization of Laos and Cambodia. Under no circumstances should the escalation of the war in Southeast Asia continue.

Comrade Sapiro presented as a minority report of the committee the following amendment to the last paragraph (p.26 of the 1964 Platform), the previous paragraphs of the Platform to be unchanged:

"Therefore, the Socialist Party demands that our government immediately withdraw all armed forces from and military support to South Vietnam."

Comrade Hannon presented a substitute amendment on Vietnam (appendix).

Comrade Bassford presented the Thomas article on Vietnam as a substitute amendment (appendix).

The Convention adjourned for lunch, after which Comrade Emanuel Scherer of the Jewish Labor Bund presented greetings and a message from the Bund.

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The foreign policy discussion resumed with the following procedural motions:

MOTION: to allow each of the reporters for the above amendments 10 minutes for presentations, and that all following discussants be limited to 5 minutes each. CARRIED

MOTION: that, following discussion on the above amendments, the convention adopt one of the proposed amendments, after which amendments to the main amendment will be allowed. CARRIED

Ten-minute speakers were Alex Garber, Bernard Sapiro, Michael Hannon, and Abraham Bassford. Five-minute speakers were Ephraim Friend, Bob Allikas, John Lester Lewine, and Saul Mendelson, who presented a substitute amendment as follows:

"to insert the Sapiro sentence after the word 'globe' in line ten of the majority amendment and to scrap the rest of the document"

Comrade Penn Kemble moved a recess of 30 minutes to enable convention committees to meet. DEFEATED

Additional speakers were Jack Cypin, Seymour Kopilow, Joan Suall, Herb Roth, Archie Lieberman.

MOTION: to end discussion and move on to a vote CARRIED

MOTION: to vote first on the Mendelsohn amendment and the Sapiro amendment, to vote next on the Hannon amendment, followed by the Bassford amendment and finally on the majority amendment. CARRIED

Vote on the Mendelson amendment:	For, 18; Against, 23	DEFEATED
Vote on the Sapiro amendment:	For, 16; Against, 25	DEFEATED
Vote on the Hannon amendment:	For, 23; Against, 25	DEFEATED
Vote on the Bassford amendment:	For, 17; Against, 23	DEFEATED
Vote on the majority amendment:	For, 23; Against, 23	

A re-vote was called to check the count of the tellers.

Revote: For, 29; Against, 24

A motion for a roll call vote was passed.

FOR

AGAINST

Arthur Bernstein
Julius Bernstein
Marilyn Blumfield
Earl Bourdon
Jim Burnett
Syd Bykofsky
Reva Craine
Joseph Davidson
Betty Elkin
Paul Feldman

Robert Allikas
Carlie Anderson
Don Anderson
Abraham Bassford
Rick Congress
Jack Cypin
Carl Dahlgren
R.A. Finnegan
Dick Gumpert
Michael Hannon

FOR

AGAINST

Sandra Feldman
Sam Friedman
Ephraim Friend
Alex Garber
Beatrice Green
Jan Horn
John Howcroft
Tom Kahn
Bob Koeppicus
Seymour Kopilow
Leo Leopold
Robert Martinson
Rudy Pakalns
Seymour Steinsapir
Neil Strong
Irwin Suall
Joan Suall

Darlington Hoopes
John Lester Lewine
Archie Lieberman
C.H. Mayer
Saul Mendelson
George Papcun
Amanda Roth
Herbert Roth
Bernard Sapiro
Reuben Singer
John Tyler
Max Wohl
George Woywod

For: 28

Against: 24

CARRIED

MOTION: to take up nominations for National Chairman and National Committee next.

CARRIED

MOTION: to elect Darlington Hoopes as National Chairman.

CARRIED

unanimously

MOTION: to elect Norman Thomas as National Honorary Chairman.

CARRIED

unanimously

The following comrades were nominated to the National Committee (acceptances were verified at opening of Sunday session):

William Allen, Mo.
Robert Allikas, Cal.
Don Anderson, Ind.
Julius Bernstein, Mass.
Jim Burnett, Cal.
Syd Bykofsky, N.Y.
Hugh Cleland, N.Y.
Carl Dahlgren, Pa.
Paul Feldman, N.Y.
Sandra Feldman, N.Y.
Samuel H. Friedman, N.Y.
Erich Fromm, Mexico
Alex Garber, Cal.
Michael Hannon, Cal.

Rachelle Horowitz, N.Y.
Tom Kahn, N.Y.
Penn Kemble, N.Y.
Seymour Kopilow, N.Y.
John Lester Lewine, N.Y.
Archie Lieberman, N.Y.
C.H. Mayer, Fla.
Saul Mendelson, Ill.
Rudy Pakalns, N.Y.
Ernst Papanek, N.Y.
Seymour Steinsapir, N.Y.
Neil Strong, N.Y.
Max Wohl, Ohio

Sunday, June 12, 1966

Before continuing the Vietnam policy discussion the convention passed the following motion:

MOTION: The 1966 Convention of the Socialist Party extends greetings to Comrade William Friedland of Los Angeles on his 90th birthday.

CARRIED

The following amendments to the majority resolution on Vietnam were offered:

AMENDMENT (J. Suall): to add the words "and South" to the eighth sentence, so that it would read: end bombing in North and South Vietnam.

CARRIED

AMENDMENTS (E. Friend): 1. to add after item (b) the item: "re-establishment of Village Councils."

CARRIED

2. to add to item (b): "and cancellation of the land debt."

ACCEPTED by Committee

3. to ask the N.C. to condense, edit and insert the following 3 paragraphs from his article on Vietnam:

The almost exclusive focus of public controversy on the major alternatives in Vietnam withdrawal, negotiations or continued military intervention, has led to an unfortunate neglect of efforts to limit the cruelties of the war. The torture and killing of prisoners by the Saigon military and the Vietcong and the assassination and execution of political opponents are immoral, dehumanizing, and unnecessary developments, which cannot be justified by the military needs of either side.

High priority must be given to a broad campaign to enforce more humane standards. The mistreatment of combatants and the bombings of innocent civilians in "combat sorties" should be more than just an exhibit in the case against intervention. Mere exploitation of this issue for partisan, ultimate goals tends to smother the moral protest latent in the majority of the American people.

The American community, supporters, and opponents of the U.S. policy alike, can and should be mobilized behind an immediate demand for humanity in the conduct of the war. War, particularly modern technological war, is destructive and cruel, but civilized man has painfully acquired the pragmatic wisdom of establishing limits and making distinctions between what is allowable and not allowable. Strict adherence to the Geneva Convention on Prisoners of War of 1929, the Geneva Convention of War Victims of 1949, and the Red Cross Conventions must be insisted on and applied to all prisoners; Vietcong, North Vietnamese, South Vietnamese, and American. The rejection of this minimal but urgent moral demand, on absolutist grounds as well as those of expediency, can only encourage, by default, a corrupting regression to barbarism on all sides.

ACCEPTED by Committee

AMENDMENT (Hannon): to strike: "It will also be necessary for the nations of the world to bring pressure upon all the participants in that war to enter into negotiations and to secure a cease fire" and to replace that sentence with: "We also demand an immediate unilateral cease-fire after which U.S. and A.R.V.N. forces will carry out no further offensive action, firing only in self-defence."

Chairman Bernstein ruled the amendment out of order because in essence Comrade Hannon's motion was the same as a motion defeated the day before. Comrade Mendelsohn appealed the ruling of the chair, and Vice-Chairman Hannon took the chair for the vote. The ruling of Comrade Bernstein was upheld, 23 for to 17 against, and Comrade Bernstein resumed the chair.

AMENDMENT (Steinsapir): to delete the sentence: "We call upon the U.S. government, in view of this, to end bombing in North (and South) Vietnam" and to replace it with the following: "American Socialists are divided in their consideration of this problem. A large number of Socialists urge that the U.S. act unilaterally to withdraw from Vietnam. Some Socialists are concerned that such a policy may result in the abandonment of the South Vietnamese to the ruthless domination of the National Liberation Front and North Vietnam. Neither of these points represent that of the majority of the Socialist Party. However, Socialists, as a matter of policy, are agreed in calling upon the U.S. government to end the bombing in North and South Vietnam." CARRIED

AMENDMENT (Steinsapir): to add after the previous Steinsapir amendment the following: "Socialists urge that the U.S. also cease sending any more men or arms to South Vietnam." CARRIED

AMENDMENT (H. Roth): "The Socialist Party calls for the U.S. and all parties to abide by and work for the implementation of the 1954 Geneva Accords." CARRIED

AMENDMENT TO THE ROTH AMENDMENT (E. Friend): to add: "and that its statutes concerning representative government be applied to both North and South Vietnam." CARRIED

MOTION (Steinsapir): To table both the above amendments. CARRIED

There being no additional amendments, Comrade Garber continued the report of the Foreign Platform Committee, presenting suggested amendments on the Middle East and on the China sections of the 1964 Platform (see Appendixes for the amendments).

MOTION: to approve in principle the section on the Middle East and to refer it to the NC. CARRIED

MOTION: to approve in principle the section on China and to refer it to the NC. For, 17; Against, 17. DEFEATED

AMENDMENT (Mendelson): to omit the phrase "on the establishment of order in the Far East" in the sentence containing "on the further condition that, on the establishment of order in the Far East, the Taiwanese be given an opportunity through a plebiscite, etc." ACCEPTED by Committee

AMENDMENT (Mendelson): to omit the phrase "on terms restoring American reputation for justice and fair play in the Far East" from the sentence "It is a solution to be steadily urged and not impossible of attainment if the Vietnamese War is promptly ended on terms restoring American reputation for justice and fair play in the Far East." CARRIED

MOTION: to approve in principle the section on China and refer it to the NC. CARRIED

The Foreign Platform Committee also presented the following as an addition to the Platform: "The Socialist Party expresses its abhorrence of the massacre of hundreds of thousands of Communists and others in Indonesia."

MOTION: to table the above sentence. DEFEATED

MOTION (Mendelson): to approve the above sentence and to ask the editing committee to join it to a section of the Platform dealing with barbarism.

MOTION (Hoopes): to approve in principle and refer to the NC. CARRIED

MOTION: to move on to the next item of business and to ask the Foreign Platform Committee to withdraw to finish its work. CARRIED

The Credentials Committee reported that the delegate from Connecticut - Rhode Island, Comrade James Gillis, has been seated.

The Convention asked for a report from the Committee on the State of the Party. Comrade Garber reported that the Committee could come to no agreement and had no recommendation. Speakers on the report included Comrades Papcun, Allikas, Hannon, Steinsapir, Garber, Mendelson, Friedman, Bykofsky, Friend. Comrade Garber, in summarizing, urged all comrades to work together whenever possible in hopes that the Party crisis would be overcome. Comrade Steinsapir, in summarizing for the minority of the Committee, emphasized the fraternal spirit of the discussion even though no agreement could be reached.

MOTION: to thank the Committee for its report and to discharge it. CARRIED

Ballots for the election of the National Committee were distributed and voted. The Chairman appointed a tellers' committee of Betty Elkin, Chairman, Ruth Leopold, Yetta Shachtman, Josh Muravchek, Irving Panken, Jeanne Herrick, Robert Aks, Don Moon and Rachelle Horowitz.

DOMESTIC PLATFORM COMMITTEE REPORT:

The Domestic Platform Committee is given in its entirety on pp. 13-19 in the Appendix. Several re-wordings were suggested from the floor and accepted by the committee.

MOTION: to approve the Committee report. CARRIED

MOTION: to add a paragraph on drug addiction and alcoholism as directed by the NC. CARRIED

MOTION (Papcun): that the National Committee be authorized to insert a paragraph on the use of policemen in Junior and Senior High Schools in pilot projects such as those in Flint, Michigan and Tucson Arizona. CARRIED

MOTION (Green); that the N.C. be authorized to study the use of adulterants (chemical additives) in food and to write a platform plank on consumer protection in general.

CARRIED

ELECTION OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE:

<u>ELECTED</u>		<u>DEFEATED</u>	
Max Wohl	244	Samuel H. Friedman	152
Michael Hannon	236	James Burnett	151
Alex Garber	233	Neil Strong	120
Don Anderson	226	Sandra Feldman	93
Julius Bernstein	221	Rachelle Horowitz	85
Penn Kemble	221	Tom Kahn	83
Paul Feldman	219	Syd Bykofsky	65
Seymour Kopilow	217	Ernst Papanek	61
C.H. Mayer	207	Hugh Cleland	57
Seymour Steinsapir	199	William Allen	56
Erich Fromm	199	Robert Allikas	52
Saul Mendelson	194	Carl Dahlgren	43
		John Lester Lewine	43
		Archie Lieberman	35
		Rudy Pakalns	32

MOTION (Steinsapir): this Convention takes note of the fact that, in the election of regular members of the National Committee, one of the nominees who has served the party in that capacity for many years has not been re-elected.

The Convention takes special note of the many years of loyal and devoted service by Samuel H. Friedman of New York, as a member of the National Committee, as National Vice-Chairman of the Party, as a candidate for public office, as a representative to the Socialist International and as a rank and file activist. In the latter capacity, he has always been ready to participate in any activity, whatever, as a speaker, writer, or marcher on the picket line.

We know from his devotion to the Socialist Movement that he will continue his activity whenever and wherever the opportunity arises.

CARRIED
unanimously

Nominations for Alternates to the National Committee were William Allen, Robert Allikas, Carl Anderson, Earl Bourdon, James Burnett, Syd Bykofsky, Frank Carner, Hugh Cleland, Rick Congress, Jack Cypin, Carl Dahlgren, Betty Elkin, Sandra Feldman, Samuel H. Friedman, Ephraim Friend, Jeanne Herrick, Rachelle Horowitz, Tom Kahn, John Lester Lewine, Peter Meyer, Ernst Papanek, Charlotte Roe, Neil Strong, Joan Suall, Harry Winthrop, George Wrywod.

FOREIGN PLATFORM COMMITTEE REPORT:

Comrade Garber presented the following revision of the SP Platform on Europe, recommending that the title of the section be changed to "Europe"

AMENDMENT: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was based on the concept of a military organization against a Soviet military threat to

Western Europe, a threat which is now reduced by a developing detente. There is much validity in De Gaulle's criticisms of NATO and his fear of European involvement in a nuclear war without its own consent as a result of American military activities in other quarters of the globe. This does not, however, justify his concentration on the creation of a French nuclear force which could never protect but only further jeopardize France. Nuclear proliferation can only result in radically increasing the already great danger of world annihilation. Meanwhile, it imposes an increasing burden on the standard of living of people who are already near the subsistence line. We welcome all bona fide proposals for the abolition of the the North Atlantic and Warsaw military alliances and the adoption of a ban on the use of nuclear weapons. These proposals furnish a basis of negotiation which our government should accept.

The Committee did not have time to prepare a full statement on Africa but recommended that the following be included in an African statement:

AMENDMENT: The Socialist Party condemns the establishment of an independent Rhodesia based on racist principles.

MOTION: To approve the Committee recommendations. CARRIED

MOTION (by the Committee): to refer other matters of Foreign Affairs to the NC. CARRIED

A motion to adjourn for lunch failed and the Sunday session continued without a break.

ORGANIZATION AND FINANCE COMMITTEE REPORT (Appendix)

MOTION: To approve the report of the Committee and discharge it. CARRIED

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

The Committee reported that it recommended no action on the resolutions by Comrades Herrick and Newberry (which were really platform proposals), that it recommended referring the resolutions by Comrades Bassford, Lewine, and Koeppicus and that by the Chicago Local to the National Committee, and that it recommended that the resolution "A New Tactical Approach" by Comrade Hannon be suitably edited by Comrades Hannon and Allikas, and published in New America, along with a substantial article by Local Los Angeles in the Hannon campaign.

MOTION: to approve the recommendations of the Committee and to discharge it. CARRIED

REPORT OF PRESS AND EDUCATION COMMITTEE (Appendix)

Comrade Woywod presented a minority recommendation to strike the words "and we recommend that he continue as editor."

MOTION: to accept the report of the Committee and to discharge it. CARRIED

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MOTION: that any report by the Youth Committee be presented to the NC. CARRIED

MOTION: that the Convention give its moral support to Comrade Robert Briggs in his hour of travail. CARRIED

MOTION: that the NC consider the whole question of the military draft and conscientious objectors. CARRIED

A final report of the Credentials Committee indicated 49 registered full delegates, 7 registered alternates, and 2 comrades with voice but no vote. (Appendix)

MOTION: to thank the Committee for its work and to discharge it. CARRIED

MOTION: to thank Betty Elkin, the arrangements committee and Local New York for the fine handling of the convention. CARRIED
unanimously

REPORT OF ELECTION OF ALTERNATES TO THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE:

<u>ELECTED</u>		<u>DEFEATED</u>	
Tom Kahn, N.Y.	195	Syd Bykofsky, N.Y.	139
Joan Suall, N.Y.	185	Neil Strong, N.Y.	110
Samuel H. Friedman, N.Y.	183	Hugh Cleland, N.Y.	98
Rachelle Horowitz, N.Y.	170	John Lester Lewine, N.Y.	84
William Allen, Mo.	163	Rick Congress, Ind.	81
Ephraim Friend, N.Y.	160	Charlotte Roe, N.Y.	75
Betty Elkin, N.Y.	157	Ernst Papanek, N.Y.	71
Carl Dahlgren, Pa.	145	Earl Bourdon, N.H.	47
Carlie Anderson, Ind.	143	Sandra Feldman, N.Y.	43
Jack Cypin, N.Y.	140	Frank Carner, Pa.	29
		James Burnett, Cal.	27
		Robert Allikas, Cal.	26
		James Herrick, Conn.	25
		George Woywod, Ind.	19
		Peter Meyer, Ill.	14
		Harry Winthrop, N.J.	2

MOTION: The Socialist Party National Convention takes note of the representation at every national convention of our Party since 1948 of the Jewish Labor Bund. We thank in particular Dr. Emanuel Scherer who has represented the Bund so ably at these conventions as its fraternal delegate. CARRIED

(Appendix) unanimously

MOTION: to suspend the rules of the Convention in regard to the particular item increasing the number of NC alternates. For, 22, Against, 15

DEFEATED

(a motion to suspend the rules requires a 2/3 majority to be accepted)

MOTION: to reconsider the motion relative to Comrade Briggs. DEFEATED

Comrade Garber, in behalf of the delegates from the West (Arizona and California) thanked the other delegates for their fine hospitality at the Convention and for their contributions towards the expenses of the Western delegates.

Adjourned, Sunday, June 12, 1966, 4:30 P.M.

3. A permanent Sargeant-at-Arms shall be appointed by the chairman of the first session and he in turn shall appoint such assistants as he sees fit.

4. Committees shall be elected as follows:

a)	Credentials	3 members
b)	Domestic Platform	5 members
c)	Foreign Platform	5 members
d)	Organization & Finance	3 members
e)	Press & Education	5 members
f)	Constitution	3 members
g)	Youth	5 members
h)	Resolutions	3 members

5. The chairman of the first session shall appoint four tellers who shall distribute and count ballots during the course of the convention sessions.

6. Except as provided in the agenda, discussion from the floor shall be limited to 5 minutes for each speaker, but the convention may limit or extend the time by majority vote.

7. No delegate shall be recognized a second time on the same subject until all delegates desiring to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so.

8. The previous question may be moved by majority vote. Committee nominations shall not be closed until there are no further nominations apparent to the chairman.

9. Robert's Rules of Order shall be used except when in conflict with the national constitution or these rules. When the previous question has been carried, one delegate for each side may speak for 5 minutes. In the case of a committee report, a spokesman for both the majority and minority, if any, shall speak.

10. Each state or local delegation may designate alternates to fill vacancies in the delegation in accordance with the rules of the state. Each delegation shall elect a secretary who shall inform the National Secretary of any changes in the delegation at the opening of each session.

11. No delegate shall be bound by unit rule. This does not apply to instructions on specific issues given delegates by the body that elected them.

12. Members and alternates of the National Committee who are not elected delegates shall have the status of delegates but without vote.

Rules

1. Officers of the day (Chairman and Vice-Chairman) for all 3 days shall be elected at the opening of the first session, Friday, June 10.
2. The National Secretary shall serve as the convention secretary with power to appoint such assistants as necessary.
3. A permanent Sergeant-at-Arms shall be appointed by the chairman of the first session and he in turn shall appoint such assistants as he sees fit.
4. Committees shall be elected as follows:

a) Credentials	3 members
b) Domestic Platform	5 members
c) Foreign Platform	5 members
d) Organization & Finance	3 members
e) Press & Education	5 members
f) Constitution	3 members
g) Youth	5 members
h) Resolutions	3 members
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11. No delegate shall be bound by unit rule. This does not apply to instructions on specific issues given delegates by the body that elected them.
12. Members and alternates of the National Committee who are not elected delegates shall have the status of delegates but without vote.

13. Convention committees shall be elected by secret ballot and the candidates receiving the highest number of votes shall be elected. On all other elections, except for the National Committee and National Chairman, and on all resolutions and motions, the votes shall be "aye" or "nay" or by a show of delegates' badges, except that when demanded by 30% of the registered delegates, the vote shall be a roll call. In all elections without contest, secret ballots may be dispensed with.

14. All resolutions or communications requesting action and all resolutions offered from the floor shall be referred by the Chairman to the proper committee without discussion. No resolutions may be offered after Saturday, June 11 at 11:00 AM, shall be accepted without the consent of 2/3 of the delegates present and voting. However, in the course of the discussion, amendments may be presented on the subject under discussion.

15. Acceptances and declinations shall be called after the nominations for each committee and officer has been completed. No delegate shall be eligible to serve on more than one committee. This shall not apply to the Credentials Committee.

16. These rules may be suspended by a 2/3 vote of the delegates present and voting.

17. All resolutions shall be presented in writing.

18. If any putative delegate's credentials have been disputed or disallowed by the preliminary credentials committee, this shall not affect his right to be nominated for convention committees. Prior to the election of such committees the permanent credentials committee shall report and the convention shall vote on the seating of any such delegate.

19. A quorum shall consist of a majority of the registered delegates.

20. No delegate shall be recognized a second time on the same subject until all delegates desiring to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so.
21. The previous question may be moved by majority vote. Committee nominations shall not be closed until there are no further nominations apparent to the chairman.
22. Robert's Rules of Order shall be used except when in conflict with the national constitution or these rules. When the previous question has been carried, one delegate for each side may speak for 5 minutes. In the case of a committee report, a spokesman for both the majority and minority, if any, shall speak.
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24. No delegate shall be bound by unit rule. This does not apply to instructions on specific issues given delegates by the body that elected them.
25. Members and alternates of the National Committee who are not elected delegates shall have the status of delegates but without vote.

CONVENTION AGENDA

Friday, June 10, 1:00 P.M.

1. Chairman Hoopes opens convention and remarks - 15 minutes.
2. Memorials - 5 minutes.
3. Greetings and announcements by Local New York - 10 minutes.
4. Report of Preliminary Credentials Committee (NC) - 10 minutes.
5. Report and adoption of proposed agenda and rules - 1 hour.
6. Election of officers for each of three days - 30 minutes.
7. Nominations for Convention Committees - 15 minutes.
8. Greetings from fraternal delegates - 10 minutes.
9. Announcement of Convention Committee elections and meetings - 10 minutes.
- 9A. The organization of the Convention (above) will be limited to the afternoon session. The evening session, limited to Party members only, will hear reports and discussion on the state of the Party by the Secretary, the National Committee, and the delegates present.
10. Report of the Constitution Committee will be presented at a suitable point in the proceedings as soon as the committee is ready to report.

Saturday, June 11, 9:30 A.M.

12. Report of Foreign Platform Committee - 4 hours.
13. Report of Domestic Platform Committee - 3 hours.
14. Nomination and election of National Chairman.
- 14A. Nominations for National Committee.

Sunday, June 12, 9:30 A.M.

15. Report of the Press and Education Committee - 1 hour.
16. Election of National Chairman and National Committee - 20 minutes.
17. Report of Organization and Finance Committee - 1 hour.
18. Nominations of National Committee Alternates - 15 minutes.
- 18A. Report of Resolutions Committee
19. Report of Youth Committee - 1 hour.
20. Election of NC Alternates - 20 minutes.
21. Continuation of unfinished business.
22. Adjourn.

CONVENTION AGENDA
Friday, June 10, 1:00 P.M.
APP. P. 3

OPENING REMARKS OF NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, DARLINGTON HOOPES, AT

1966 NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Comrades:

The 1966 Convention of the Socialist Party is now in session. Those delegates who have not registered should do so immediately so that they may be seated and have a vote in organizing the Convention. We are living in a changing world, and my remarks at this time, and the actions of this Convention, should reflect those changes.

For more than a century, Socialists have advocated and predicted that because of its inherent contradictions, capitalism would collapse, and the working class would take over and establish a Socialist society. Powerful labor and Socialist movements have been built upon that premise. We were sure that following World War II there would be a great depression, which would again clearly demonstrate the inability of the profit system to serve the needs of the people.

The use of computers and cybernetics has resulted in vast increases in both industrial and agricultural production with a fraction of the labor previously required. This has caused much unemployment but we have not had the major economic slump which we anticipated. However, the membership of industrial unions, which we had hoped would be the backbone of a militant labor movement, has been drastically cut, and they are no longer the social force they were twenty or thirty years ago. During the same period, the Socialist Party of the United States has shrunk to a shadow of its former self.

We are in the midst of a great social revolution, but is it not being guided by Socialists or other advocates of social control of business and industry. It is being brought about by business men seeking profit, with little or no concern for the social consequences to people.

However, there are some indications that these same business men are beginning to realize what we Socialists have long proclaimed, to wit, that poverty stricken people, either at home or abroad, can buy very few goods of any kind. It is also not inconceivable that these not so stupid business men may conclude that war and preparation for war, with hydrogen bombs and nuclear weapons, are just too blasted dangerous to be used as ways to dispose of surplus goods.

It is not impossible that these business men may decide that in order to save the profit system, they will raise the standard of living of most of the people, in order to provide a market for the vastly increased volume of goods and services made possible by the mechanization of business, industry and agriculture. Can you think of a more logical reason why a political conservative like President Johnson should launch what he calls an all-out War on Poverty?

Does this mean that Socialism is no longer relevant in modern society? Certainly not! If we believed that, we would not be here today. We are here because we believe that only democratic Socialism can save the human race from slavery and nuclear destruction.

In the great society which President Johnson envisions, business and industry will be owned by a few gigantic corporations, and run for the private profit of their shareholders. The boards of directors elected by these shareholders, and over whom the masses of the people have little or no control, will continue to make decisions which vitally affect the cost of living, employment, and the income of all the people. Their appointed managers will program the data processing machines, and determine the kinds of goods and services, and the volume of each, which will be made available for the use of the people.

In such a society, even in the unlikely event that poverty is abolished, and an adequate income provided for every person, we will have a paternalistic welfare state, which is a far cry from democratic Socialism. The individual will be a mere cog in a vast industrial complex, and will have no freedom to determine his own destiny. Instead, a few managers of the very big corporations will control the State and use it to enhance their powers.

Since both the Republican and Democratic parties ardently support the capitalist private profit system, which must be replaced before we can have Socialism, those of us who are striving for a Socialist Society cannot consistently support candidates of either of those parties. This becomes more obvious when we realize that we are fast reaching the point where, in order to wage a successful campaign for either old party nomination for high public office, a candidate must be a multi-millionaire. Although on occasions one of the old parties may take over some of our immediate demands, and appear to be a lesser evil than the other, both of them at all times vehemently oppose our ultimate goal.

Their bi-partisan foreign policy, which supports the most reactionary dictators in the world, in an effort to overcome Communism by military force, has involved us in a cruel and devastating war in Vietnam. Unless this policy is changed, it will almost certainly result in a nuclear holocaust. Socialists propose to reverse this worse than stupid policy and to end the Communist threat by showing the uncommitted peoples of the world that there is a peaceful way to stop the robbery of the many by the few, and at the same time expand political freedom and provide a more abundant life for all.

We cannot win Socialism or build a Socialist Party by supporting anti-Socialist candidates. People won't join the Socialist Party to support Democratic candidates. They will join Democratic Clubs. Our experience has been that most Socialist Party members who join Democratic clubs soon drop their Socialist activity. We make and keep Socialists by constantly pointing out the evils of capitalism and continuously attacking all parties and candidates who support it.

We must build a strong, viable Socialist Party, whose spokesmen will proclaim its ideals throughout the land. We must make nuclear power, computers, cybernetics, and the other modern scientific tools, serve the needs of all the people, or they will be used to enslave and destroy the human race.

We must have a Socialist Party to lead the struggle for a democratic Socialist Society in which the means of production and distribution will be democratically controlled by the people and run for the sole purpose of providing goods and services for the use of all the people, and the powers of government will be used to protect and expand the freedom of the individual.

We have a tremendous responsibility. Let us get on with the business of the Convention.

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The Socialist Party is aware of the agony suffered by all of the people in Vietnam, both in the Northern and the Southern sections of that tiny nation. More than two decades of endless war - with the Japanese, the French, and the Americans - mean that virtually every family in Vietnam has been directly touched by misery, disaster and death.

We are aware of the complexity of the present situation, in which terrorism is exercised by both sides in the conflict. And we know that a victory for the National Liberation Front would mean a victory for totalitarian Vietnamese Communism.

It is not, therefore, easy to urge the withdrawal of American forces when we believe this might well mean the victory of the National Liberation Front. Our position on Vietnam has not been reached easily nor is it set forth lightly. But, in our view, it is clear that the American intervention in Vietnam was a tragically ill-advised as well as illegal action back in 1954 and that this intervention has increasingly become criminal. Men of good will throughout the world are nauseated by the relentless brutality of the American government in Vietnam.

The actions of the American government in massive napalm bombing of civilian areas in the South of Vietnam, in heavy bombing in the North of Vietnam, and in military attacks on the territory of Cambodia and Laos, have shocked the conscience of the world. Peace will be hard to achieve in Vietnam but that peace which does come can only be made by the peoples of Vietnam. The United States has no legal or moral right to maintain troops in Vietnam and their presence postpones a peaceful settlement of the civil war in that nation. The United States has taken not one genuine step toward peace in that bloodied land. It has substituted the techniques of Madison Avenue for those of serious negotiations. It has resorted to escalation and military terrorism in a vain effort to force the opposition into surrender. It has repeatedly called for peace negotiations while refusing to negotiate directly with the National Liberation Front.

We therefore demand that the United States government take the following steps:

1. That it cease at once all bombing operations anywhere in Vietnam, North or South, in Cambodia, or in Laos, and should immediately declare a unilateral cease fire. This declaration does not require preliminary negotiations. U.S. armed forces will defend themselves if attacked but will carry out no further offensive actions.
2. That it declare its willingness to meet immediately with representatives of the National Liberation Front and with the leadership of the Vietnamese Buddhists to arrange for the early, complete, and peaceful withdrawal of all American military units in South Vietnam.
3. That as a proof of its sincerity the United States not only cease at once the introduction of any new military equipment or military units into Vietnam but, on the contrary, that it immediately withdraw all military aircraft and that it begin the withdrawal of its ground troops.
4. That it declare its willingness to recognize and to accept whatever government the people of Vietnam establish and to make available to that government, in cooperation with other nations, food, medical aid, and industrial credits to help in some small measure to repair at least the material destruction that has been inflicted on these people.

The Johnson Administration is waging a peculiarly cruel and devastating war half-way round the world, which in no meaningful sense can it win. Into that war, in the name of freedom, it pours our conscript sons and billions of our dollars when there is mounting evidence that they are not desired.

There is even more evidence of the extent to which American leadership for freedom, as well as peace, is marred throughout the world by this tragic performance. No single task in our foreign policy is so vitally important as to end this war.

Any hope of military victory requires the Administration to fight an undeclared war of devastation by continuous bombing of the North as well as South Vietnam from the air. In South Vietnam it requires a training of our sons in guerrilla tactics which are a glorification of the worst sort of gang warfare in our city streets against a foe forced into use of such tactics for any hope of victory. Vietcong's terrorism is shockingly cruel but Senator McGovern, some months ago, reported that he saw in hospitals more civilian victims of American bombing and burning of villages than of the Vietcong terrorism. It is the kind of war which Jack Langguth in the New York Times Sunday Magazine (Sept. 16, 1965), after serving as a correspondent, declared could only be won by killing two Vietnamese for every Vietcong. And then only if, in the process, neither China nor the Soviet Union came all the way in. President Johnson's commander, General Westmoreland, told a Newsweek correspondent (issue of April 11th) that this war was educating the leaders of the country ten or twenty years hence in a type of sophisticated understanding which will improve the quality of our government. Rather its continuance, with the approval of our people, means a hardening of them in a kind of power-politics which sanctifies any sort and degree of violence for the achievement of its own ends.

The Administration's excuse for its appalling performance is that it is necessary to stop a dangerous advance of Communist aggression against "free" peoples. To make its case it destroys the history of the past and any commonsense expectation for the future. This is not primarily a war of aggression from the North of a divided nation against the South - much less from China - but a civil war in the South. It is an insult to truth to try to compare this war and our role in it to the Second World War and to call Ho Chi Minh an Asian Hitler.

The United States was Ho's ally in World War II against Japan. After that war, instead of supporting the Vietnamese freedom from a return to the French yoke, as it supported the end of colonialism in India, Burma, Malaya, and Indonesia, our government paid at least \$2.3 billion, about 80% of the pecuniary cost of its unsuccessful effort to hold Indochina. When the French got out in 1954 by the Geneva Agreement worked out by nations, all that Secretary John Foster Dulles would promise is that we would not break them by force or threat of force. We backed Diem at his invitation, breaking the Geneva Agreement against foreign aid in arms at least as early and far more extremely than Ho Chi Minh in the North. Our government did not try to make the Geneva Agreement for a plebiscite in 1956 workable but enthusiastically backed Diem in refusing it. (President Eisenhower later wrote that he thought 80% of the people would have voted for unity with the North.) Diem's rather good beginnings in power turned exceedingly sour and our government connived at his forcible removal (though not his assassination). Afterward our government supported any military dictator with a temporary hold on power, always telling us that at last Vietnam had the right man and that the war, in which we became increasingly involved, would soon be won. Secretary McNamara prophesied that we would have our boys home by the end of 1965.

This was evidence of the Administration's appalling misjudgments. Vietcong became a serious threat only after Diem rejected the plebiscite but turned to nepotism and complete reaction. Its beginnings and growth in strength sprang from nationalism and desire for social and economic revolution at least as much as from organized Communism.

The Administration's failure to appraise the true situation was shown in the Honolulu conference at which President Johnson dramatically embraced Premier Ky and hailed him for his military and political leadership only to find that embrace

was a factor in promoting the serious anti-Ky demonstrations with large elements of anti-Americanism which soon forced the Ky government to yield to demands for a constituent assembly.

These appalling American failures in the past are more than matched by the Administration's assumption that its waste of money and lives in this genocidal war are justified as the necessary and effective way to block Communist expansion, specifically Chinese Communist expansion in Asia. On the contrary, our conduct furnishes tremendous grist to Communist propaganda mills throughout the world. It helps to obscure the Communist splits and failures of Chinese strategy in Africa, Cuba and Indonesia, where alleged communists have been the victims of one of the most shocking massacres of our troubled times.

There can be no military end of this Vietnamese war except by utter devastation of the country, North and South, and then only if Johnson's escalation of the war has not brought China or Russia into the war. The U.S. will have on its hands an exhausted country which it can only hold as a military outpost on the borders of the great nation whose government it refuses to recognize and tries to exclude from the family of nations. There is no surer road to a third world war with a China made stronger by time and hate - necessarily a thermonuclear war with all the horror that implies. We Americans can no more keep a military colony on the borders of China in peace than China could maintain such a colony or military base in Mexico.

Sometimes the President has seemed to recognize these facts and has sought peace by negotiation. But he has blocked his own efforts by the ambiguity of his ultimate purpose, his resort to bombing North Vietnam, his escalation of the war with his enormous investment in bases that support permanent occupation, his failure to recognize that he is dealing with what was primarily a civil war and his effort to exclude or play down the role in negotiation which must be played by his principal opponent, the Vietcong.

The demonstrations against the Ky government and the demands of the Buddhists have not yet shown enough anti-Americanism to make a demand for our withdrawal. But, combined with desertions from the army - 104,000 in 1965 - they argue a growing desire for peace. This may be shared by regions controlled by Vietcong if American reports of defections of 5,000 a month are correct.

The President, therefore, should encourage the growth of desire for negotiation among the Vietnamese themselves. He should make clear our firm intention to seek only decent conditions under which the Vietnamese can take over their own nation in peace with guarantees against massacre of revenge. He should give the most solemn assurances against our establishing any military base in Vietnam and, beyond that, of our desire for neutralization of Southeast Asia.

To support his words about "unconditional negotiations, anytime, anywhere," he should stop the bombing in South as well as North Vietnam, ask a formal cease-fire and, as evidence of good intent, order our troops only to fire if fired upon.

At the same time, he should seek a reconvening of the Geneva nations responsible for the agreement of 1954 with, of course, the addition of the National Liberation Front as a principal negotiator and necessary partner in provisional arrangements for a government under which the will of the Vietnamese people can be obtained.

Along with this must go evidence of his intention no longer to block representation in the UN of the effective government of vast China. This would at least make easier approach to peace in Vietnam and is in itself a necessary condition if the world is to be spared an ultimate third world war.

Out of this procedure for ending an immoral and probably stupid war we shall not get an ideal society in Vietnam or Southeast Asia. But neither, given Vietnamese nationalism and the division between China and Russia, shall we get an enlargement of Communist military aggression.

Possibly we may get an Asian Yugoslavia which would be infinitely preferable to the world war, now or in the not-too-distant future, to which the Administration's course steadily leads us on. The hope of the world demands an end of the Administration's undeclared war in Vietnam.

In its obsession with the military containment of Communism as the supreme objective of American policy, successive American administrations have made their worse mistake in dealing with China. For 17 years, Washington has insisted in believing that the effective government of China could somehow be overthrown by refusing it American recognition, denying it a place in the U. N. and, still worse, insisting that Chiang, ignominiously driven out, is entitled to represent China. Meanwhile, not without much cruelty, the establishment of a type of Communist totalitarianism with some roots in Chinese traditional custom has taken place. However, no military victory over China at the present time can do more than postpone its growth in strength and delay the development of a more moderate type of Communism. It will remain the most populous nation in the world, filled with an energetic and hate-filled people, occupying a strategic position in Eastern Asia. Our hope cannot be found in any conceivable military victory in a thermo-nuclear age. It must be found in discovering a way to coexist and to bring other than military pressure for developments in China somewhat similar to those taking place in the Soviet Union and its satellites in Europe.

Therefore, we demand that our government recognize the effective government of China and take a lead in seating it as the representative of China in the UN. Without this, there is no hope for universal disarmament and a secure peace. Meanwhile, travel to and unmilitary trade with China should be permitted again.

There remains the problem of Taiwan (Formosa). The U.S. government returned that island to Chiang without any plebiscite of its people. His government celebrated the fact by a massacre of at least 10,000 persons. Chiang has never dared to hold a plebiscite confirming his power, which is wholly dependent upon the United States, so that in effect he represents only the Seventh American Fleet in the UN.

Nevertheless, the Taiwanese, with great American aid, seemed to have established what is by Asian standards a fairly prosperous economy. Having intervened, contrary to our own true interests, to save Chiang on Taiwan, we have a certain responsibility to the Taiwanese rather than to Chiang. The U.S. should, therefore, urge that Taiwan be for the present treated as an independent country with representation in the UN Assembly though not in the Security Council, on the further condition that the Taiwanese be given an opportunity, through a plebiscite supervised by the UN, to declare their wishes on their form of government, and on independence or unity with China.

This policy at first will probably meet with almost equal objection from Chiang and Mao. It is, however, a solution to be steadily urged and not impossible of attainment if the Vietnamese war is promptly ended.

ORGANIZATION AND FINANCE COMMITTEE REPORT

The Committee recognizes that the Party has serious financial problems, but we do not feel that a convention committee has the time to investigate all facets of this problem. We are instead putting forward a number of specific suggestions which may be of help. It is the feeling of the committee, without any recommendation, that the question of organization and finance should be given full-time attention by a special committee of the Party, so as to relieve the NAC of details and to give continuity to organizational and financial plans.

At the present time we make the following recommendations:

1. Recognizing that the income of the National Office drops with regularity during the summer months, we urge that each Local sponsor one fund-raising event for the benefit of the National Office during the summer months of each year, e.g., picnic, auction, swim party, and we further recommend that information on any successful fund-raising method or affair be publicized to all Locals.

2. We urge to the editor and the editorial board of New America that a regular column of "Party Notes" be carried in each issue, and we further recommend that a particular member be appointed and held responsible for soliciting, compiling, and editing such a column to assure its regular publication.

3. Recognizing the need for more internal discussion within the Party, we recommend to the NAC that it place the responsibility of publishing Hammer and Tongs with a specific Party Local capable of putting it out with funds to be reimbursed from the National Office, and, further, that the NAC appoint an editor of Hammer and Tongs to solicit articles.

4. We recommend to the NAC that it appoint a Speakers' Coordinating Committee and delegate to it the duty of compiling lists of speakers who may be available to Party, YPSL, and friendly organizations, and the further duty of obtaining speakers for and the coordination of speaking tours of regional and national scope.

5. We recommend that Locals within a region investigate the possibility of hiring full-time organizers for short periods, whenever a suitable comrade becomes available between jobs or school sessions. Such limited organizing could be financed within the region, whereas a full-time organizer would be impossible financially. We also recommend regional camps, for both social and/or educational purposes, similar to the successful camps held each Labor Day at South Haven, Michigan, which will provide a place to bring contacts and an opportunity for members of the region to improve regional cooperation.

Minority Report
George Wood

Majority Report
Paul Reisman
Reva Graine
Tom Kahn
Julius Bernstein

We want to commend the fine work New America has been doing under difficult conditions to spread the message of Democratic Socialism and to make it relevant to the issues and political struggles of our time. We are encouraged by the response it has received from trade unionists, civil rights activists, and from other groups we are trying to reach.

We take particular note of the thorough and thoughtful exchange of views it has presented on the issues of poverty and Vietnam. We urge that such educational discussions be continued and that all tendencies in the party make an effort to participate and to contribute articles to the party press.

We have found New America's discussion articles to be educational and worthwhile, but we think there should be a better balance maintained by presenting more analytic reporting of current events. New America's excellent coverage of the Dominican situation is an example of how effective this could be.

While it is a great exaggeration to say that New America lacks criticism of President Johnson and his administration, the criticism has not been as extensive as a substantial section of the party would like it to be. However, we do not think this has been the result of any policy of exclusion by the editor. The reason for this is the greater enthusiasm for writing for New America demonstrated by some sections of the party. But the problem still exists, and we recommend that the editor of New America make a greater effort to seek articles of diverse points of view in the party. This is important also because New America has an important role to play in solidifying the party. This requires more information and reports on Socialist Party activities in all parts of the country.

We are encouraged that New America has maintained its circulation during this difficult period in the Party's life. We urge Party locals and members to make greater use of New America; to send it out in local mailings, distribute it at community meetings, get it on newstands and circulate it widely in the community and on the campuses.

Recognizing the importance of New America to the Party's work, we are disturbed by its financial difficulties which prevent it from coming out as regularly as it should. We recommend that the staff of New America, the National Secretary and National Committee organize a more coordinated fund-raising campaign and a sub drive for the Party press, and that Party locals cooperate in every way possible to financially support New America and to help it grow.

We commend the work of New America's editor, Comrade Feldman, and we recommend that he continue as editor.

Education: A high priority in the party's educational work must be devoted to its publication of new literature and pamphlets giving the socialist view on present social problems. There is a desperate need for pamphlets on such subjects as democratic economic and social planning, the problems of the labor movement, unemployment, poverty, a democratic foreign policy, Latin America, the problem of emerging nations, etc.

We urge the National Office to commission pamphlets on one or more of these topics as soon as possible, because of the dearth of party literature on the burning issues of our time.

Majority Report

Paul Feldman

Reva Craine

Tom Kahn

Julius Bernstein

Minority Report

George Woywood

(These proposals are presented in the form of substitutions for, and amendments to, the 1964 Platform. Most of the basic proposals in that document are still on the agenda, and recent developments can be registered in this form.)

1. (Substitute for the first 33 lines of the introductory section on p 3 of the 1964 Platform.)

The War on Poverty must be the highest domestic economic priority of the United States.

It is necessary to emphasize this point in 1966 because there are those who, in the name of the tragic war in Viet Nam or of fighting inflation, propose that the nation cut back on the social programs it has recently undertaken. Such a step would be immoral. For with much rhetoric and very modest actions, the United States in the last several years has at least begun to recognize its obligations to the poor, the deprived, the victims of racism. In the doing, aspirations and hopes have been excited among those who were, only yesterday, the passive outcasts of the affluent society. To allow the reactionaries to subvert our present inadequate commitments would thus be a double crime: for it would not only take desperately needed material support away from people, it would dash down the righteous hopes of the impoverished as well.

We therefore call for a vast expansion of the War on Poverty, not a cut back.

If the \$1 billion a month war in Viet Nam continues (and seeing that it does not is one of our central concerns, as the section on foreign affairs demonstrates), or if it becomes necessary to dampen down the economy in order to prevent inflation, it is still possible to mount a program which would abolish poverty in the United States, as presently defined, in ten years or less.

The 1966 Gross National Product will be well over \$700 billion; by the mid-1970s, the United States will have passed the \$1 trillion mark in GNP; and, over the next twenty years, there will be more than \$20 trillion of production in this country. Given this unprecedented output, we can easily end the outrage of poverty in the midst of plenty and give economic and social content to the political victories which the Negro Freedom Movement has achieved. We can do so if we adopt a proper system of priorities and begin to place human need above profit.

We believe that there is a growing awareness of the need for such an approach among the various forces of the democratic Left in America.

We support the AFL-CIO in its contention that fiscal problems and anti-inflation policy be met by removing some of the privileges which have been so lavishly bestowed upon the rich in recent years (for instance, repeal the 7% investment credit, raise the corporate tax rate from 48% to 52% and, if necessary, impose higher income taxes on the upper brackets).

We stand with A. Philip Randolph and other Negro leaders in advocating a "Freedom Budget" of \$100 billion in public funds to meet the needs of the black and white poor.

We favor the proposals made by the 1966 White House Conference on Civil Rights that the right to a job be legally guaranteed for every citizen.

We applaud the National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress for urging that we guarantee a minimum income to every citizen and that there be a system of national social accounting which would compute the human and social cost of economic innovation and direct policy accordingly.

We believe that the proposals of these various groups are signs that there is the social imagination in the United States to end poverty. The only issue is: Will we place corporate profit on a higher level than the need to destroy every slum, urban and rural, in the United States? Will we continue to ring deteriorating, ghettoized, near-bankrupt central cities with discriminatorily zoned ghettos? Will we go on subsidizing the housing of the rich much more than that of the poor?

These are political issues which concern our national priorities. As socialists, our first and most decisive value is human need. We believe that democratic men can control their technology for the common good rather than for minority gain.

We now call for a Socialist strategy in the war against poverty - a long-range view of...

2. (Substitute for second last para. col. 1, p. 4, beginning "One such resource..." and the next paragraph).

By 1966, unemployment in the United States was at the lowest rate in years, below 4%. This reduction in joblessness has been achieved in a series of ways: thru more than \$20 billion in tax cuts which went disproportionately to the rich; through multi-billion dollar outlays for the war in Viet Nam; and through various training and retraining programs of the Government. Even with this progress, the official figures reported an unemployment level which would be considered catastrophically high in any advanced country other than the United States, and the real percentages - taking into account underemployment, part time employment, and the hundreds of thousands driven out of the labor market altogether - is twice the admitted rate.

But consider what would happen if these billions of dollars had been spent on destroying poverty rather than promoting the consumption of the rich and waging the war in Viet Nam! What prodigies could have been accomplished with the more than \$30 billion which would have thus been available for social construction!

3. (p 4 second col, paragraph "In the Twentieth century...." Omit.)
4. (p 4 second col, last paragraph, "We also have....", substitute for the first three sentences the following)

"We also have the financial means to abolish poverty. Billions are already being spent in maintaining the poor in their misery. Today, Federal, state and local governments spend well over \$30 billion a year for the custodial care of poverty."

5. (p 5, col 2, first full para, "Thus far, the forces...." substitute)

Thus far the forces for poverty have been more cohesive and decisive than those against. And this is true even with our recent gains. For if one applauds the passage of Medicare, it is still sobering to remember that 20 years earlier, Harry Truman had proposed to cover all Americans with health insurance, and not just the 10% of the population over 65. Or if it is encouraging that the White House Conference of 1966 endorsed a legally guaranteed right to work, it is nevertheless true that Franklin Roosevelt first made this proposal in the campaign of 1944.

6. (p 6, col 1, first sentence of first para under "Tactics Against Poverty", substitute)

The current war on poverty is most emphatically not a socialist undertaking.

7. (p 7, first two paras. under Full Employment, substitute)

We believe that the present reduction in unemployment is dangerously dependent on a tragic war in Viet Nam and upon tax cuts which stimulate the economy through promoting the consumption of the rich and the investment of corporations but slight the vast social needs of the nation as a whole. We emphatically support legislation establishing a legal right to a job, and we stand for guaranteeing a minimum income for every citizen, whether he works or not. But we propose to achieve a real full employment policy, not through further tax cuts, but through massive social investments in housing (destroying all slums within ten years or less), schools, medical care, etc. Therefore we support:

A Freedom Budget which would inventory all of the unmet social needs of the land and produce a specific plan, with target dates, for meeting these social responsibilities.

8. (p 7, substitute for first two paras. under Depressed Areas:)

The Appalachian Bill is based on the "trickle down" concept of promoting private business growth and then letting the people get more opportunities from the newly revived businesses of the area. This often means that the Federal funds fall primarily into the hands of the enemies of the poor - as has happened in areas like Hazard, Kentucky, where there has been coal miner militancy. This is a far cry from the regional economic and social planning which Appalachia, and many other areas of the country, desperately need. Therefore, we support:

9. (p 8 under Agriculture)

second para: "Extension of minimum wage, unemployment insurance and collective bargaining rights to migrants and farm workers."

strike para, "Provision for a loan...."

Change paragraph, "Abolition of the bracero program...." to "Rigorous enforcement of Congressional intent to end the bracero program and opposition to the use of Public Law 414 as a substitute way of importing cheap farm labor."

10. Under planning (p 8, last para, "Creation of a Department...."), substitute:

Consolidation of the new Department of Urban Affairs into a genuine planning instrument rather than its continuation as a coalition of pre-existing agencies. We also believe that it is vital that there be a Department of Transportation which would reverse the present enormous subsidy given to private automobile transportation and develop systems of efficient, comfortable and inexpensive mass transit.

11. (Add at end of Planning section a new paragraph)

Federal aid to cities on a metropolitan area basis. The suburbs should not be permitted to hide behind their political independence and opt out on their social responsibilities. This unification for area-wide planning can be achieved through Washington's ability to withhold grants from recalcitrant cities and suburbs.

12. (p 9, under Education, last full para, "Federal aid to public". Omit.)

12A. Substitute for the first specific demand the following:

The commitment of our nation to free education through four years of college.

13. (under Early education, in place of paragraph "Federal grants...." substitute:

Programs like Operation Headstart must be made permanent and integrated into an enriched education in the later grades, for it would be terrible to provide children with excellent pre-school and inferior regular school education.

13a. (p. 10, Medical Care, delete last sentence of first paragraph and entire second paragraph and replace with the following:

"We welcome the precedent of paying for some health costs through Social Security mechanisms. Though Medicare is at best only an inadequate stopgap, paying for only a portion of the health costs of only a small part of the population, it already is revealing a vast backlog of unmet needs and a tremendous shortage of facilities and personnel. It is a good yardstick to measure how much further we have to go."

13b. (p. 11, column 1, third full paragraph; insert ", defining services" after "providing funds".

14. (p. 12) under Sources of Funds, second para, "Vast Resources..." eliminate last sentence.

14a. (p. 13, Insert before para. beginning "No discussion of poverty...."

At present, families with less than \$2000 annual income pay an average of 38% of their gross income in some form of tax. Families with incomes over \$10,000 pay, on the average, only 31.6%. Socialists propose elimination of those forms of tax which bear hardest on those least able to pay. We call specifically for the elimination of sales taxes.

15. (p. 14, Omit "Expansion of the 'Home town....' and the entire paragraph following it. Substitute:

We also believe that the war against poverty must be made by, and not upon, the poor. The "maximum feasible participation" of the poor granted in the Economic Opportunity Act must not be subverted by mayors and political hacks who want to turn the program into a patronage affair. We therefore support, and actively work toward, the independent organization of the poor. We do not believe that participation of the poor is a panacea. We know that there must be massive Federal programs and national planning. But we also emphatically believe that the poor must have a policy making role, a share in determining their own fate, if this entire effort is not to become a soul-less exercise in social engineering.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS II
CIVIL RIGHTS, LABOR AND DEMOCRACY

81 .9 .994

Suggested Changes in Domestic Affairs II: Civil Rights
(quotation marks indicate added or changed sections)

1. P. 15, para. 1: We salute the courageous men and women, including many in our own ranks, whose commitment to freedom has been tested "in the tough tasks of organizing Negroes to vie for political power, and before that in the countless picket lines, jail cells, marches, and demonstrations."
2. P. 16, 2nd column, 1st full paragraph: Instead of "hasten to point out," substitute as follows: As Socialists too, "we cannot overlook"...(editorial change only).
3. P. 16, 2nd column, 1st full paragraph: Remove last sentence and replace with: "Now, in addition to ever necessary direct action techniques, we herald the various forms of community organization that are being used to expose grievances, to build unity, and to challenge organized political power."
4. P. 16, para. 3: Omit introductory language and demands, but leave in concluding one-sentence paragraph following legislative demands on p. 17. Replace demands with the following:
"Despite the new civil rights laws, an urgent need for legislation continues. The Socialist Party therefore demands federal legislation:

Guaranteeing Negroes free access to housing.

Requiring that state and federal court juries be selected randomly without regard to race, religion, national origin, sex, or economic condition and allowing for state jury selection to automatically be subject to federal supervision when discrimination is shown.

Protecting from violence and intimidation Negroes who attempt to exercise their rights to equal treatment as well as civil rights workers, and indemnifying the victims of such violence.

Giving strong and unhampered enforcement power to the Commission on Equal Opportunity in order to eradicate discrimination in employment.

Enabling the Attorney General to initiate legal suits when any civil rights are violated without receiving a formal complaint or requiring a means test of those who request him to sue.

Enforcing Section II of the Fourteenth Amendment by reducing Congressional representation of states in proportion to their disenfranchisement of qualified voters."

5. P. 17, beginning just before section entitled "Jobs for Unemployed Negroes"

"Yet statutes are meaningless without strong and determined enforcement. Poorly enforced legislation cynically reenforces racist patterns and adds to the Negro's roster of aggravated grievances. The Socialist Party views the enforcement of civil rights laws as patently inadequate. Existing laws should be surveyed and immediate full enforcement programs/inaugurated by all federal agencies and departments with responsibility in an administration

official for seeing that implementation of existing statutes never lags.
Deserving of particular attention should be plans for:

Sending teams of mobile federal voting registrars into every Southern county that falls under the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

Affirmatively encouraging both registration and voting by Southern Negroes, including the stationing of observers and agents with power to make on-the-spot arrests in case of intimidation or violence.

Requiring immediate and full integration of all Southern schools without the necessity for application or special selection procedures, and breaking up the Northern ghetto school system, including cut-off of aid to all school districts that continue segregated school patterns."

6. P. 17, "Job...", Insert after para. 1: "We therefore demand a \$100 billion federal economic program geared to changing the total economic condition of poor people, including Negroes. To be effective such a program must be planned and massive, not spotty and peripheral. Among its most urgent goals should be:

clearance of all slums and the guarantee to all former occupants of "good" housing "at prices they can afford."

rebuilding ...

rehousing ...

"financing college or vocational education as well as massive job training programs for youth who cannot otherwise continue their education, thereby ameliorating high unemployment among the young"

"Guaranteeing an annual income to every citizen, especially old people and workers displaced by automation."

7. P. 17, column 1, last paragraph: "Such a program aimed at the quickest eradication of poverty, if adequately planned and financed, would rescue the permanent poor and would offer employment to the unskilled and semi-skilled, including the mass of Negroes." The number of such workers involved in public works "alone" could be increased ...

5. P. 17, beginning just before section entitled "Jobs for Unemployed Negroes"

"Yet statutes are meaningless without strong and determined enforcement. Poorly enforced legislation cynically reinforces racist patterns and adds to the Negro's roster of aggravated grievances. The Socialist Party views the enforcement of civil rights laws as patently inadequate. Existing laws should be surveyed and immediate full enforcement programs inaugurated by all federal agencies and departments with responsibility in an administration."

Suggested Changes in Labor section of Platform:

1. Add to end of first paragraph on page 19, column 1 (line 7):
"Likewise of great import is the breakthrough in the organization of two of America's most depressed sectors -- the agricultural workers and the hospital workers. These initial steps forward must be continued and expanded by greater commitment and support from the trade union movement."
2. Delete the phrase ", even if the economic power of the unions were as great as ever," from page 19, column 2, lines 30 and 31.
3. Change the second paragraph of page 20, column 1, to read as follows:
"But for these efforts to bear fruit, the entire labor movement must mobilize both within and without its own ranks in the political arena and by mass action -- especially with the civil rights movement which increasingly finds that the solution to the problem of equal opportunity is bound up with the economic structure of our society -- behind a program of massive public works and the democratic planning and allocation of resources."

Suggested amendment to Civil Liberties section:

Add to end of third paragraph, page 21, col. 1, the following sentence:
"We deplore all attempts to equate dissent with treason and to investigate or harass groups with unpopular or minority points of view, especially during periods of international crises."

First National Delegates
YPSL: Josh Murschel
Jewish Labor Bund:
Emanuel Scherer
Delegates and Alternates attending
but not registered:
Massachusetts
Ruth Leopold
New York
Massachusetts
Mike Green
Morris Bekenik
Yetta Shachman
Jason Dlugacz
New York City:
George Aronov
Sylvia Aronov
Sam Estrin
Eugene Glaberman
Abe Friend
Ida Kaufman
Rosemond Clark
Pennsylvania:
Philadelphia:
Frank Garner
Alex Adloff
Robert Tucker

Epstein Friend
Beymour Koplov
Beatrice Green
New York City:
Beymour Steinberg
Samuel H. Friedman
Syd Dykowsky
Irwin Gail
Robert Koepficus
Tom Kahn
Joan Gail
Paul Feldman
Betty Elkin
Jan Horn
Sandra Feldman
Richard Gumpert
Abraham Bassford
Anne Koepficus
Reva Graine
Rudy Pakina
Neil Strong
Ohio:
Max Wohl
Pennsylvania:
Berks Co.:
Darlington Hoopes
Philadelphia:
Joseph Davidson
Carl Dahlgren

DELEGATES, 1966 NATIONAL CONVENTION

91.9.00

Arizona:

George Papcun

California:

James Burnett

Alex Garber

Robert Martinson

Los Angeles:

Robert Allikas

Michael Hannon

Bernard Sapiro

Illinois:

Marilyn Blumfeld

Saul Mendelson

John Tyler

Indiana:

Donald Anderson

Carlie Anderson

Rick Congress

Herbert Roth

Amanda Roth

Massachusetts:

Julius Bernstein

Arthur Bernstein

Leo Leopold

New York:

Nassau:

Ephraim Friend

Seymour Kopilow

Beatrice Green

New York City:

Seymour Steinsapir

Samuel H. Friedman

Syd Bykofsky

Irwin Suall

Robert Koeppicus

Tom Kahn

Joan Suall

Paul Feldman

Betty Elkin

Jan Horn

Sandra Feldman

Richard Gumpert

Abraham Bassford

Anne Koeppicus

Reva Craine

Rudy Pakalns

Neil Strong

Ohio:

Max Wohl

Pennsylvania:

Berks Co.:

Darlington Hoopes

Philadelphia:

Joseph Davidson

Carl Dahlgren

Delegates-at-Large

Conn. and Rhode Island:

James Gillis

New Hampshire, Maine, Vermont

Earl Bourdon

New Jersey:

Archie Lieberman

Reuben Singer

New York State:

R. A. Finnegan

N. Car., S. Car., Ga., and

C. H. Mayer

Registered Alternates:

Indiana:

George Woywod

Massachusetts:

John Howcroft

New York City:

John Lester Lewine

Penn Kemble

Vera Steinsapir

N.Y. - Suffolk Co.:

Hugh Cleland

Jack Cypin

Present with voice but no vote

Stan Matoren, Colo.

Jeanne Herrick, Conn

Fraternal Delegates

YPSL: Josh Muravchek

Jewish Labor Bund:

Emanuel Scherer

Delegates and Alternates attend

but not register

Massachusetts

Ruth Leopold

New York

Nassau:

Mike Green

Morris Sukenik

Yetta Shachtman

Jason Dlugacz

New York City:

George Aronov

Sylvia Aronov

Sam Estrin

Eugene Glaberman

Abe Friend

Ida Kaufman

Rosamond Clark

Pennsylvania:

Philadelphia:

Frank Carner

Alex Aollox

Robert Tucker